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THE HISTORY OF EXPLORATIONS

IN THE

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

BY

STEPHEN D. PEET.



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THE HISTORY OF EXPLORATIONS IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

THERE have been three kinds of explorations in the Mississippi Valley since the discovery, each of which has contributed to a different department of science; the first to geography, the second to ethnology, and the third to archaeology. It will take some time for us to give even the briefest review of these explorations, and yet they so join together and dovetail into one another that it seems to be important that they should all be considered together. We shall therefore follow the topical, rather than the chronological order, and shall consider the results which came from the early explorations to the different departments, giving a separate division to each.

I. We begin with the explorations which were conducted in the interests of discovery. It will be noticed that these were conducted by different nationalities and covered different periods, the nationalities generally following the belts of latitude in which the mother country was situated.

Such was the case with the Spanish, French and English,¹

¹ The early maps show the startling effect of the discovery by Columbus upon all the nations of Europe, for voyages across the ocean were conducted by the different nationalities within the space of ten years; by the English under Sebastian Cabot in 1497; by the Portuguese under Ojeda in 1502; by the Spanish under Columbus and others in 1492; and by the French under Verrazano as early as 1503; but it still remains a question which one of the nationalities first reached the mainland and really discovered the continent. The following maps will show the dates of the voyages of the different nationalities along the coast of America, the letters and figures in brackets indicating the pages in Winsor's "Cartier to Frontenac," on which they are found.

"The King's Map." From a Portuguese Mappemonde, 1502 [p. 7]. Ruysch, 1508, entitled Terra Sancte Crucis Sive Mundus Novus [p. 8]. Sylvanus, 1511

though there were circumstances in the later explorations which ultimately brought the nations into conflict with one another. The English,¹ who had made Jamestown Harbor the starting-point in the south and Port Royal on the north, extended their possessions westward and claimed the belt between these two points by right of discovery and purchase. The French, commencing on the St. Lawrence, traversed the chain of the Great Lakes, but moved in a southwest direction, crossing the track of the English at the junction of the Ohio with the Alleghany, and that of the Spanish at the junction of the Arkansas with the Mississippi; finally reaching the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Sabine River.

The Spanish who began exploration in Florida and the Gulf States extended their conquests to the Northwest, and claimed at one time all the territory west of the Mississippi River.²

[p. 11]. Portuguese Chart, 1520 [p. 15]. Verrazano, 1524 [p. 17]. Maiollo, 1527 [p. 19]. Michael Lok, 1532 [p. 20]. Mercator, 1538 [p. 49]. The Cabot Mappemonde, 1544 [p. 44]. Ortelius, 1570 [p. 65]. Judæis, 1593 [p. 67]. Quadus, 1600 [p. 68]. Hakluyt Martyr, 1587 [p. 72]. The Ottawa Route, 1642 [p. 87]. Hudson's Bay and the St. Lawrence, 1613 [p. 110]. Visscher, 1652 [p. 178.] Sanson, 1656 [p. 179]. Heylyn's Cosmography, 1656-62 [p. 180]. Blaeu, 1665 [p. 182]. Creuxius, 1660 [p. 184]. Ogilby, 1670 [p. 210]. Duvals, 1682 [p. 216].

This atlas served to keep up the notion that the Ottawa and not the Niagara conducted the waters of Lake Erie to the sea.

¹The English under the Cabots were seeking to rival the Spaniards in their discovery. They made their land-fall in 1497 in the neighborhood of New Foundland. They also discovered at the North a gulf supposed to correspond with the Mexican gulf at the South, and here found an expanse of water which had already coursed another great continental valley, and by which it was practicable to go a long distance towards the interior.

²It is supposed that Ojeda, the Portuguese, visited Venezuela and Brazil in 1492; and the navigator Cortereal reached the coast of New England in 1501, for there is a globe which represents the name Terra Corterealis above the St. Lawrence, and near it the date "Anno Christi, 1501."

The Cantino map described by M. Harrisse shows that the Portuguese sailed the whole length of the Eastern coast of North America as early as 1502, for on it the coast of Greenland, New Foundland, Florida, and the West coast of Gulf of Mexico are well depicted.

"On the King map," "Terra Laboratoris" and "Terra Cortereal" are close together, showing that the Portuguese reached this point as early as 1502.

It is remarkable that nearly all the information which we have about the interior and the Indian tribes there, during the first two hundred years, is from the historians of different nationalities, and is contained in books printed in different languages. To illustrate, our history of the southern tribes, those between the Gulf coast and the Appalachian Mountains, is written in Spanish; that of the tribes of the Middle States,—Powhatans, Cherokees, and Algonquins,—is contained in English books; that of the northern tribes,—Hurons, Athapascans, Algonquins and Sioux, including the Dakotas,—in French books. The later history of the Iroquois and the tribes of the interior was written both by English and French, the Jesuit relations containing the largest portion of the record.

Still, there are cross-lights; for while the volume by Cabeça de Vaca and that by Garcilasso de la Vega, and the Portuguese Narrative are still relied upon as giving the best picture of the southern tribes, the writings of De Bry and the paintings of the artist Wyeth bring before us a picture of the tribes who are situated on the sea-coast of Florida and South Carolina. The maps of Verrazano, the Spaniard, bring before us a picture of the tribes on the coast of Maine. The writings of Champlain furnish a picture of the Iroquois. Taking the reports by different nationalities we have an excellent account of the early condition of the various tribes, and are interested very much in the descriptions of them. The picture moves before us like a panorama. As the different expeditions are taken into the interior one portion after another of our noble continent is brought to view, making us feel as enthusiastic and exhilarated by the vision as were the discoverers themselves, producing upon us the same impression that the reading of the letters did upon the minds of the Europeans at the time. Each part of the picture brings before us new scenes, new costumes and new surroundings, and new adventures. We listen and

we catch even the sounds of new languages, and find that there are new grammatical constructions.

We are indebted to the explorers and travellers who wrote descriptions which were so vivid and gave vocabularies which are so correct. We can bear with the exaggerations and deceptions of some of them, who wrote of voyages into regions which they never reached. If the "long river" of Lahontan has never been identified, and the voyage of Hennepin to the mouth of the Mississippi has proved to be a deception, the descriptions of Charlevoix, Marquette, Joliet and La Salle, and the various missionaries are still resorted to for information about the Indians of the interior.

There was to be sure a great difference between the tribes, in moral character, grade of civilization, and modes of life; for those of the South were mild, peaceful, given to agricultural employments, sedentary in their habits, and somewhat advanced in their grade of civilization; those of the Northern States were mainly hunters, who made their long voyages in canoes from the distant regions of the west, and sought to barter their furs for the commodities brought to them from Europe. Those of the far West were nomads, who followed the buffalo across the prairies, and the elk and moose to the mountains, changing the location of the villages according to the seasons. Those of the East, especially the Iroquois, which were then situated in the State of New York, were the most warlike of all the tribes. These were the worst foes which the Indians of the interior had at the time, and they filled all the tribes of the North with great terror. Their history is a tale of horrors from beginning to end. Our souls are stirred with indignation that human beings should be given to such unearthly and demoniac passions. But we are, at the same time, full of admiration at the fortitude and sublime faith of the missionaries who endured so much at their hands.

The story of the first century reads like a romance, for we follow the explorers through the Southern States and across the flowing rivers. But in the second the forests of the north are full of tragedy. It is like turning from Homer to Æschylus, from Chaucer to Shakespeare, from the days of Warren Hastings to the terrible tragedies under General Havelock, from the days of Admiral Coligny to the deeds of Robespierre. The cruelty of the savage Iroquois was greater, and the sufferings of their victims more intense, than had ever been recorded. These turn the history which began with peaceful conquests, interesting adventures and important discoveries, into a record of cruel slaughter, base treachery, and appalling torments. Treachery, however, was not confined to the hearts of the savages, for the ill-fated La Salle, after enduring all the discouragement and defeat which the deceit and treachery of his enemies could bring upon him, finally perished at the hands of his own followers, and his body was left to rot in a nameless grave amid the wild scenes on the Sabine River. His fleet was destroyed, his army scattered, and only the faithful friend, Tonty, with the iron hand, was left to tell the story of his tragic end.

The result of these early explorations and voyages was, as we have said, to increase the knowledge of the geographical features of the continent, both in its contour and interior. A general acquaintance with the Indian tribes was also gained, and especially those situated along the sea-coast and near the rivers, for it was by voyaging, either in sail vessels or in canoes, that explorers, traders, and missionaries made their distant expeditions. It would be interesting to follow up the routes taken by the different parties and quote the descriptions of the scenes through which they passed, for by these means we should realize what their first impressions were. It may be said, however, that the explorers who waded through the immense swamps, threaded the dense forests, and crossed many waste places,

were not so much interested in the natural scenery as they were in escaping the danger which lurked everywhere. The forests were high and the rivers were large, and everything was new and strange, yet the adventurers had been through scenes that were grander and forests that were wilder than these. While there were large fields of maize from which provisions for the men and horses could be foraged, yet the villages were palisaded and were to be taken after much conflict and bloodshed. They were told that there was gold among the mountains, and they turned aside from their route to reach them. It was there that the queen of the forest came forth in her canopied canoe. After that there were many rivers to be crossed, and new means of crossing them must be devised. The most notable event was that the greatest river of all, the noble Mississippi, furnished a burial-place for their leader, the renowned De Soto, whose name is known to history but affixed to no important stream, or city, or province. Even in the later explorations, when the Northern regions were to be traversed, the scenery came before the voyagers by slow degrees. The great rivers were open to their vessels and the smaller rivers to their canoes; but the cataract which is one of the wonders of the world at first escaped notice. It was known only by the reports which came from the savages. Though its roar was heard in the distance they did not turn aside from their path to visit it. The chain of the Great Lakes ¹

¹ A map in the *Marine* at Paris [1642] has the different nationalities as stretched along the coast in the following order: "Cap Breton," "L'Acadia," "Nouvelle Angle Terra," "Lan Hollande," "Lan Suede," "La Virginie," "La Floride." On this map are the St. Lawrence River, "Lac Champlain," "Lac Ontario," "Lac Erie," "Lac des Hurons," "Lac Supérieur," and two small lakes near "Lac Francois" and "Lac Louis" adjoining the mouth of the Ottawa River. It represents the Ottawa Route. This is one of the earliest maps that gives the chain of the Great Lakes or any approach to the Mississippi Valley.

Sanson's map, 1656, represents the Northern part of the Mississippi Valley. In it the lakes are tolerably correct, but the Mississippi River and the Ohio are not laid down. A river flows North into Lac Des Puans or Green Bay. Heylyn's cosmography, 1656, represents the Mexican Gulf with several rivers flowing into it. But a single lake said to be three hundred miles long and a single river flowing into the St. Lawrence in place of the chain of Great Lakes.

stretched from the deep interior to the sea, connecting the head-waters of the Mississippi with the mouth of the St. Lawrence with a single chasm to break the chain, but it was link by link that it became known, and even then portions were supposed to be disconnected, the impression having been formed that the outlet was by the Ottawa River rather than by the Niagara, and that Lake Erie flowed north and west and not toward the Falls. Not until the time when the ill-fated La Salle launched his famous vessel, the *Griffon*, on the river above the Falls and began his long voyage to the land of firs and forests, did the full sense of the length and breadth of the inland seas come before his mind. Not until after suffering the great loss caused by the wreck of the famous vessel and the blasting of his hopes, did he begin to realize that its boundless shores could be a hiding-place for his enemies, and that their treachery could follow him to the remotest villages of the Indians. These waters which are so restless and majestic in their sweeping currents were not grander than the spirit of the great explorer who first traversed them. It requires a comprehensive view such as can be gained by the rapid passage in modern times to get a full sense of the majesty of these great Lakes and the wonders of the regions through which they flow. The work of tracing the routes which were followed and identifying the places where they stopped, remains for those who admire their exploits and cherish their memories. There were anticipations which nerved the first explorers. Rumors came to them that there were rivers which led to the South Seas, and it was a constant hope with the travellers that by some means they might cross the barriers of land and mountain and reach the farther India, which was the object of search with Columbus, the first discoverer. It took a long time for the mistaken notion that America was only a part of Asia to pass away.¹ The fact that it was a continent by

¹ A globe made by Franciscus Monachus, 1526, unmistakably represents N.

itself gradually dawned upon the mind, and then the valley became the most prominent part of the continent.¹ There were, to be sure, rivers which were remote from the chosen routes, and large forests which were not visited by the explorers, and numerous villages of which nothing was known until nearly three hundred years after the discovery. We refer now to the forests along the Ohio River and the Cumberland Valley, which afterward proved to be so rich in aboriginal remains, showing that it was once filled with a teeming population, and abounded with villages which were advanced in their type of architecture and art. The Ohio River flowed through this region, and yet, for nearly two hundred and fifty years very little was written concerning it or its resources; in fact, the veil of obscurity is scarcely drawn until the time of the settlement under Boone, Harrod, and other hardy adventurers. We read about the conquests of Mexico and Peru under the Spaniards with great interest. We follow the route taken by Coronado in 1536 to the north of Mexico into New Mexico and Colorado, and learn about the famous cities of Cibola.

America as part of Asia [See "Cartier to Frontenac" p. 22]. Mr. Winsor remarks that it is thought Ruysch used Columbus's drafts. These two maps show the ignorance as to the American coast, and perpetuate the error into which Columbus fell at the beginning, and which he never corrected in his life—that America was an extension of Asia. There is on Ruysch's map the island of Java, which is one of the East Indies; but it is in the same ocean with the island of Hayti, which is one of the West Indies.

The map of Maiollo, 1527, represents "Francesca" along the New England coast, "Tera Florida" on the Gulf of Mexico, "Terra Nova descoberta per Christofaro Columbo" in the neighborhood of Venezuela, and "Spagnolla" on the island of Hayti.

The "Sea of Verrazano" appears on all of the early maps from 1524 to 1582, including one by Verrazano, 1524, Maiollo, 1527, Michael Lok, 1582, sometimes called "Mare Indicum," and sometimes called "Mare de Verazana." It occupies the same place as the Mississippi Valley.

¹ *Ortelius's* map, 1570, is one of the earliest to give the continent of America correctly. On this map the title, "Auerica Sive India Nova," stretches across the northern part of the continent, and "Nova Francia" appears above the St. Lawrence, "Florida" in its proper place, "Hispania" across Mexico, "Quivira" on the Northwest coast, "Chilaga" in the neighborhood of Lake Superior, but Peru and Brazil in their proper place, "Caribana" on the northern coast of S. America.

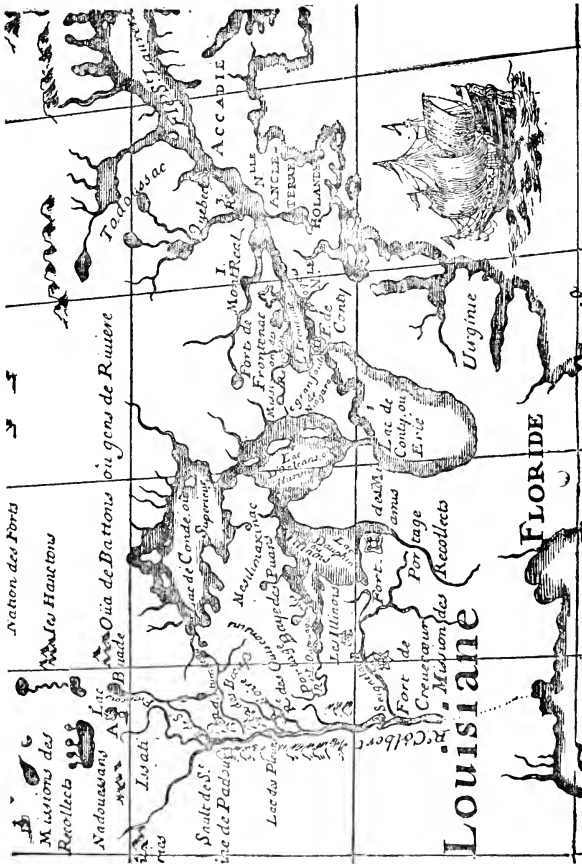
We even pass over the mountains and enter the prairies of the far West, and get a glimpse of that mysterious region called Quivira. We pass up the Ottawa River with the Jesuit missionaries and reach the head-waters of Lake Superior, cross to the St. Croix River and visit St. Anthony's Falls. We go down the Mississippi River to its mouth and learn about the people situated on either bank. But that region which had been drained by the beautiful Ohio and its branches, remained *terra incognita*. Even up to the time when Washington visited the head-waters of the river, and passed up to Presque Isle on the shores of Lake Erie, this was ever debatable ground, claimed by different tribes of Indians and yet coveted by the white men.¹ We know next to nothing of the changes which took place or even of the trade which was conducted with the native population, and archaeologists are accordingly at a loss to explain certain things which have come to light in modern times, and which some think were produced by the natives after they had had contact with the whites. The supposition is that there were Spanish miners in the mountains of North Carolina, as there were French miners on the south shore of Lake Superior. But it is difficult to distinguish between the metal relics which may have been manufactured by white men and traded to the Indians, from those which were of purely aboriginal origin. Copper relics have been exhumed from mounds in the very heart of the State of Ohio which seemed to bear the impress of the white man's touch; but the difficulty is to trace the history of these regions of the interior so as to know how early trading-stations were established, and how soon the Indians began to use the articles manufactured by the white man. The southern shore of Lake Erie was also

¹One reason for the ignorance of the Ohio River was that the original inhabitants had been driven out by the Iroquois in the period which elapsed between the discovery by Columbus and the exploration by La Salle. The Iroquois were friendly to the English and hostile to the French, and so kept the French explorers from this region.

to remain little known for a long time. The terror of the Iroquois had made it an unattractive wilderness, and no one dared follow the footsteps of La Salle athwart the region. The French had constructed a stockade at Ouitanon on the north bank of the Wabash, but had not dared to establish a single post east of the Maumee, for the Confederates were still holding the region between Lake Erie and the Ohio River, this region having been derelict since the time of the destruction of the Eries in 1650.

II. There are also Ethnological problems which are to be solved by the history of exploration in the Mississippi Valley. We have not time to mention all of the problems, but will only state that it was through these explorations that the location of the different tribes came to be known and their affinities were discovered. It appears that there were several great stocks scattered over the Mississippi Valley, dividing it into districts, which can now be easily traced by certain definite lines, thus making a linguistic map out of the very geographical territory which had been traversed. This map has been a varying one, for the tribes have changed their location with every successive period of American history. Still the tribes continued to cluster into the same groups, for the different stocks as they change their territory were massed together and were settled down in the great provinces, which became afterward States, the boundaries of these States having been formed long before the date of history.

We go to the maps for our knowledge of all the changes which took place whether among the Indian tribes or among the European claimants. The maps are, to be sure, covered with names and with inscriptions which reveal the struggles for possession among the different European nationalities, but they are also covered with Indian names which reveal to us the location of Indian tribes and villages. They do not seem like maps of America, but rather like the maps of some foreign country; for they are printed in different



HENRIETTE'S MAP OF 1683. FROM WINNOR'S "CARTIER TO FRONTENAC." P. 279.

Henriette's map, 1683, represents the lakes with tolerable correctness but with different names, viz.: Lake Frontenac, Lac De Conty ou Erie, Lac D'Orleans ou Huron, Lac Dauphin ou Illinois, Lac de Conde on Superior; the Mississippi River appears under the name of R^e Colbert, and the Illinois under the name of Seignelau, but the Ohio River does not appear and the lower Mississippi is a mere

languages,—English, Dutch, French and Spanish,—with the Indian names and the names of the rivers all spelt differently. What is more, the territory of the Indian tribes varies according to the European nationality which made the map. The English, who claimed the Iroquois for their allies, extended the Iroquois territory from the mouth of the Mohawk on the Hudson River to the mouth of the Ohio, and even down the Mississippi as far as the Gulf of Mexico ;¹

dotted line. This is one of the earliest maps to represent the Mississippi Valley, and evidently came from the explorations by La Salle. Still Joliet's larger map, 1674, contains the lakes, the upper part of the Mississippi River, the *rive de Misconsin*, *riv de la Divine* [Illinois] ; also a river supposed to be the Ohio, on which is the inscription : *Riviere par ou descendit le Sieur de la Salle au sortir du lac Erie pour aller dans le Mexique*. Such are the maps which show the gradual acquaintance with the Mississippi Valley which resulted from the various explorations.

¹ There is some reason to suppose from Sanson's map that the Maumee had been explored as early as 1650. In 1714, Crozat's agents found mines in south-eastern Missouri, and got their supplies from the Illinois country. De la Tour sent explorers four hundred miles up the Alabama above the Coosa and Tallapoosa, who established a fort called Fort Toulouse. Crozat's agents built a storehouse near Nashville, on a mound, where they traded with the Shawnees, A party left Kaskaskia in 1703 to explore the Missouri ; and in 1705 some miners built a fort on the Missouri above the Osage.

Mitchell, the geographer, claimed that the Six Nations extended their territory to the river Illinois ever since 1672, and had incorporated the ancient Shawnees and the Chaouanons, besides which they exercised a right of conquest over the Illinois and the Mississippi as far as they extended. (*Ibid.*, p. 237.)

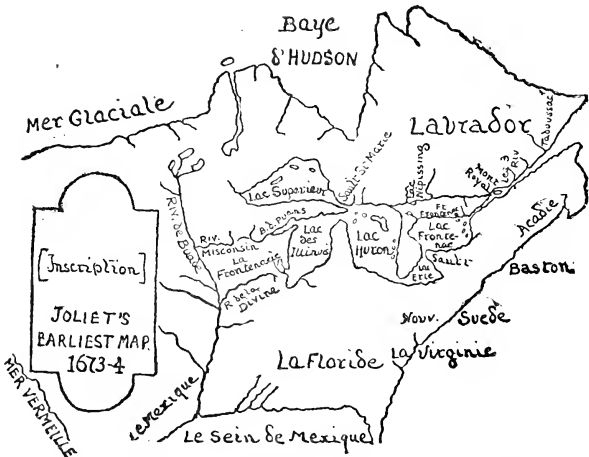
In Coxe's Carolina we have a description of the territory on either side of the Mississippi River from the mouth to St. Paul, with the resources of the country pretty clearly described, the object of the book being to encourage English trade with the tribes situated in the region. We find a description of the region on the Cumberland River.

But the Foxes, who had been overthrown at Detroit, were soon waylaying the French traders at the Green Bay portage. The Fox and Wisconsin Rivers had been well-nigh deserted, but the older portages by the Maumee and Wabash had come into use, and Vincennes was a recognized station. (*Ibid.*, p. 118.)

The portages south of the Chicago River, by way of the Kankakee and the Des Plaines, and by the St. Joseph River, were kept open. Charlevoix went by St. Joseph and Kankakee to the south. The Miami confederacy, situated upon the Wabash, had put 3,000 warriors into the field as a check upon the Iroquois. (*Ibid.*, p. 26.)

The Jesuits were among the Illinois tribes as early as 1680, and the Carmelites and Capuchins among the tribes from Alabama to the Red River as far north as Natchez. The Mississippi became the great highway of the church. Iberville had established a settlement at Natchez called Rosalie ; but Bienville, his brother, led an expedition against two villages of the Natchez in 1723, and

and made maps with a legend written over the prairies of Illinois, "this was the place where the English hunted cows." The French, on the other hand, based their claims on the voyages of the French missionaries and the explorations of the French traders. And so they gave the French names to the same regions.



JOLIET'S MAP OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER. FROM WINSOR'S
"CARTIER TO FRONTENAC." P. 245.

One of the earliest maps which gives the Mississippi River entire is this by Joliet, 1673. On this the lakes are all represented with tolerable correctness as well as the rivers and the gulf coast, but they bear Indian and French names mingled; the provinces having the Spanish, French, English, and Swedish names according to the nationality that settled them. The Ohio River does not appear on this map, but does on the larger map by Joliet, published soon after.

prepared the way for the fearful outbreak and the war of extermination which followed soon after. The French established a fort at the mouth of Fox River. (*Ibid.*, p. 157.)

Mitchell's map of the British colonies, 1755, shows the route of Col. Welch to the Mississippi in 1698, since followed by our traders. The Chicasaws in alliance and subjection to the English. Chicasaw towns and English factories, the extent of the English settlements, are placed 250 miles west of Charleston, South Carolina. The trail crosses the head-waters of all the streams and strikes the following villages: Oekfuskee, Coussa, also Tapouchas.

The Indian names are applied to rivers, lakes, waterfalls, and natural scenery, some of which have been retained and are very euphonious and suggestive. Ontario, Huron, Michigan being the names of lakes; Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, being the names of rivers; Omaha, Milwaukee, Kishwaukee, being Indian names applied to villages or cities.

We notice here the difference in the names given by European explorers, for the missionaries applied the names of their saints, while the traders gave only the names of their own heroes and leaders. In this way we have St. Paul, St. Louis, St. Marie, and St. Croix in different localities; but in others we read the names of Duluth, La Salle, Marquette, and Nicolet. The English generally gave the names of their kings and queens to the colonies on the sea-coast, but allowed Indian names to be retained by the mountains and rivers of the interior. The names of States, later on, were taken from the tribes who were supposed to have occupied and possessed them from time immemorial.

We are gaining in various ways a knowledge of the aboriginal trade¹ during this period, and more especially by

¹ There had been an intermittent trade carried on with them for three-quarters of a century. New York was already pressing her claims over the remote regions beyond the forks of the Alleghanies. She held that the parliamentary acts of 1624 had made this region crown lands. The Delawares had begun to follow the game over the mountains, and the Pennsylvania pack-men were not far behind; though they encountered the Frenchmen on the Alleghanies.

Charlevoix spent a month in Kaskaskia, October and November, 1721. In passing down the river, he saw the vast meadows covered with herds of buffalo. He passed Fort Chartres (which was founded in 1720), and remarked how the increasing settlements between the Fort and Kaskaskia were beginning to look like a continuous village.

The French built a fort at the mouth of the Arkansas to protect the line of communication between New Orleans and Kaskaskia. A crowd of palisaded cabins soon sprang up on the spot where Joutel, escaping from the assassins of La Salle, had come so happily upon some of Tonty's men.

The Jesuits were among the tribes of the Illinois. The Iroquois were a barrier of defence between the English, in Maryland and Virginia, and the French, and had prevented them from making a descent that way. In 1701, the Lieut.-Governor of New York entered into a treaty with the Confederates at Albany, by which the region north of the Ohio and stretching to the Illinois River was

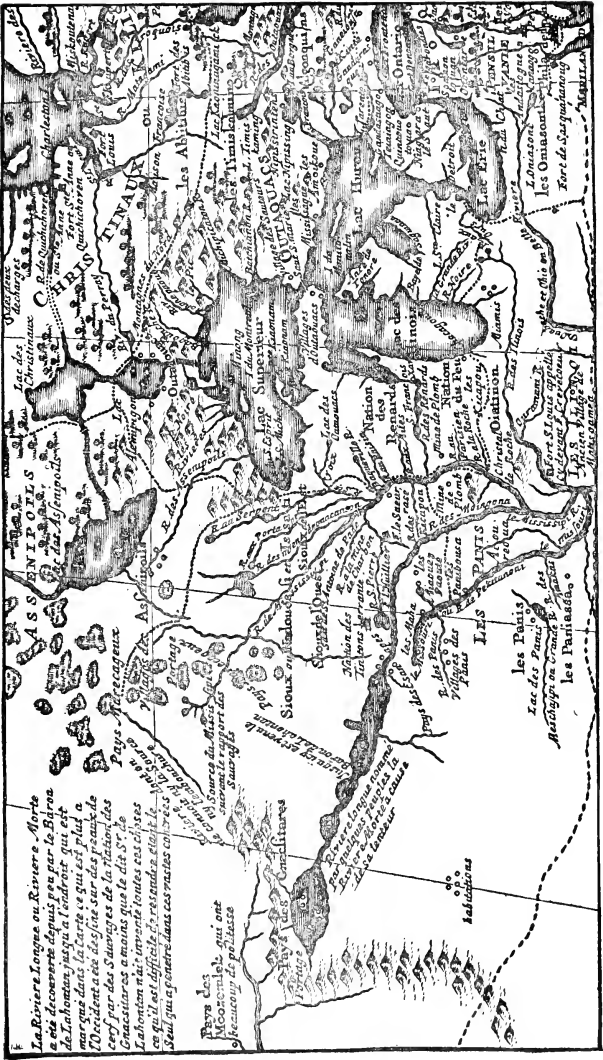
the study of the relics which are being exhumed from time to time. It is by this means, and by the study of journeys and trading-expeditions which are not prominent, that certain tribes who dwelt in the interior have become known. To illustrate: Relics have been discovered during the last year at Willoughby, Ohio, and have been placed in the Western Reserve Historical Society, at Cleveland, which help to solve the problem as to the Eries, who were blotted out by the Iroquois. These relics are composed of pipes, pottery, and bone needles, and resemble those which are found on the Iroquois territory. The portraits on the pipes resemble Iroquois faces. This proves that the Eries¹ belonged to the same stock as the Iroquois, and corresponds with the tradition that they were destroyed by that

ceded to the English king. (*See Winsor's M. B.*, p. 67.) From this time on trading-posts were established in Ohio mainly by the English. Still it was in dispute until after the French and Indian war. There is a map contained in Winsor's "The Mississippi Basin," page 242, which gives the location of the trading-stations and Indian trails as well as forts. In this the names are expressive. Names are as follows: Logstown near Fort Du Quesne, Three-legs on the Muskingum River, White-woman's on the Licking, French Margarets on the Hocking, Hurricane Toms on the Scioto, Junundat on the Sandusky, built in 1754.

The Mascoutens and Kickapoos, in 1726, put a stop to the Green Bay portage. De Lignery succeeded in bringing the Foxes to a peace, and they agreed to spare as allies of the French, the Illinois. Father Guignas and Boucher de la Perriere built a stockade on Lake Pepin, and called it Fort Beauharnois. It was the first settlement on the Mississippi north of the Illinois.

The Carolina traders had put up two booths on the Wabash, and rumors reached Kaskaskia that other stations had been established further up the Ohio. The English were haunting the upper waters of the Wabash and trading among the Miamis. M. Vincennes, who was among the Miamis, was prepared to repel the English if they approached. The country of Illinois was added to Louisiana in 1717. The waning power of the Iroquois, and the coming of the Delawares and the Shawnees into the Ohio Valley, had permitted the French to conduct more extensive explorations. (*Ibid.*, p. 148.)

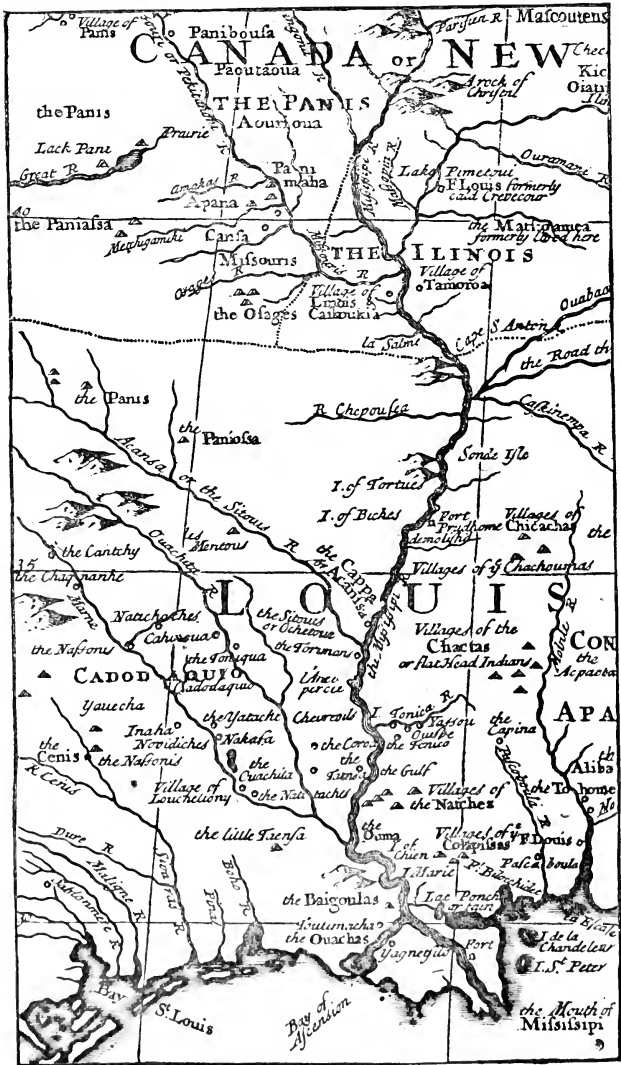
¹ As to the location of the Eries the two maps given with this paper are suggestive; namely, the map of Dr. Smith, 1720, and the map of Vander Aa, 1750. On both of these maps the Oniasontke or Nation du Chat are placed on the Ohio River, a little below Lake Erie, which was formerly called Lac de Fells or du Chat.



VANDER A A MAP—BASED ON D'ANVILLE—1755. FROM WINNER'S "MISSISSIPPI BASIN." P. 425.
 This Map Represents the Location of the Tribes at the Time of the First Settlement of the Interior.

La Riviere Longue ou Riviere Morte
 a été decouverte depuis peu par le Baron
 de Lahontan jus qu'à l'endroit qui est
 marqué dans la Carte ce qui est plus à
 l'Occident a été désigné sur des plans de
 cerf par des Sauvages de la Nation des
 Maccatares a moins que le dit Sr. de
 Lahontan n'ait apperçu toutes ces choses
 ce qui est difficile à restander et que le
 Seul qui a pénetré dans ces tristes côtes est
 le Comte de Frontenac
 Pays des Moorehels qui ont
 beaucoup de politesse
 Sources du Maccatares qui
 soutient le rapport des
 Sauvages
 R. de St. Laurent
 R. de la Louisiane
 R. de l'Ohio
 R. de la Virginie
 R. de l'Appalache
 R. de la Carolina
 R. de la Floride
 R. de la Géorgie
 R. de la Virginie
 R. de l'Appalache
 R. de la Carolina
 R. de la Floride
 R. de la Géorgie

FROM WINSOE'S "MISSISSIPPI BASIN."



MAP BY DR. JAMES SMITH, LONDON, 1720.



SHOWING LOCATION OF INDIAN TRIBES.

cruel and aggressive people.¹ We must go far back of the period when the Jesuit missionaries were among the Hurons, to find the time when the Hurons, Eries, and Iroquois were at peace with one another and filled the entire region from the St. Lawrence to the St. Clair Rivers, and occupied both sides of the two great lakes,—Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. At that time the Algonquins were divided into four parts. Those in New England on the east, the Delawares and Powhatans on the south, the Miamis and Illinois on the west, the Ojibways and Athapascans on the

“ Dr. James Smith’s map 1720, gives the natural features correctly; the lakes, the rivers, the gulf coast, and the sea coast. It also gives the Indian tribes as they were located at this time.” The Oniasontke or Nation du Chat on the Ohio River; the “ Tionontatecaga who inhabit in caves to defend themselves from the great heat,” on the Tennessee, villages of the Chicachas, villages of the Shawnees [Chaouenons] and also of the Taogarias, villages of the Caskinamos [the Caskighe] on the Cumberland; villages of the Chaouenons on the Santee River. The Cherokees [Chalague] and the Apalachians [Apalache] on the Apalache River villages of the Choctaws [Chaetas] or Flat Head Indians; also village of Chicachas on the head waters of the Mobile; villages of the Natchez, also of the Colapissas and the Taensa, on the Lower Mississippi; village of Tamoroa and of the Illinois and Kahokia near the mouth of the Missouri River; the Kieapou on the Illinois River, the Mascoutens on the Rock River, the Miamis on Miami River, the Osages on Osage River and an inscription on the Illinois as follows: “The Matigamea formerly lived here.” Another inscription on the Tennessee River, is as follows: “The road the French take to go to Carolina.” This map and the following one indicate the state of the country the location of the Indian villages at the time of the first permanent settlement of the Mississippi Valley.

¹The map based on d’Anville, published by Vander Aa, 1755, contains the long river of La Hontan, near it a river supposed to flow to the West Sea. It also gives the five Great Lakes under their present names; the Ohio River under the name Oubache; the Mississippi and Missouri and Illinois under their present names. It represents the location of the Indian tribes as they were at this time. The Ottawas [or Outaouacs] on both sides of Lake Superior. The Sioux at the head waters of the Mississippi. The Foxes, or Nation des Renards, on the Wisconsin River; The Nation du Feu, or Kickapoos, west of Lake Michigan; The Miamis, south of the lake; The Illinois on the Illinois River; villages of the Michigamias [Matigamea] below the Illinois. Village Des Sautens near Saut St. Marie, the Mississague above Lake Huron, the Nation Du Chat, south of Lake Erie, the Andastagnes on the Alleghany River, and a tribe called Les Oniasontke on the upper Ohio River, and the Iroquois just below the Lake Ontario. There are two forts on the map; fort de Sasquahanong on the Susquehanna River and fort St. Louis called fort Creve Cœur on the Illinois River.

north. The great Dakota tribe, called the Sioux, were situated to the west of the Mississippi River and occupied the States which have since borne their name; the Iowas being but a tribe of the Dakotas, and the Missouriis, Kaws, or Kansas, constituting a branch of the same stock.

The exploration of this entire region revealed the location of the various tribes or families of Indians which were the first possessors of the soil, but this is a chapter of our history of which we know but little. The names of the Indian tribes have fortunately been given to the States which have been hewn out of the Northwest Territory; Algonquin names having been affixed to the States east of the Mississippi, the Dakota names to those west of the Mississippi, and the names of other tribes to those that were farther west and south.

There were great changes among them before the time of the discovery and the settlement by the whites. There was, however, one tribe which was constantly on the move,—the fickle wanderers called Shawnees. The evidence is that they were Algonquins, and at an early date they passed down from the north through Illinois into Kentucky and Tennessee, and across the Cumberland Mountains to the coast of Florida and South Carolina, where they came in contact with tribes of the Dakotas and of the Iroquois who had branched off from the parent stock during the time of the prehistoric migrations, and finally reached their stopping-place in the southeast corner of the mountain region. The Shawnees turned this corner, and began wandering north until they reached the Delawares on the Delaware River. Joining with them they turned back toward their old seats, and are found again in the opening of history on the Ohio River. The Shawnees have left their names on certain rivers and trading-posts in Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, South Carolina, and even in Wisconsin. But they have made great havoc with the records of other tribes, and have brought terrible confusion into the archæ-

ology of the entire region. Their wanderings cover a period of two hundred years, the most of them after the date of discovery. And yet, so little is known of them, that it is almost impossible to say to a certainty what relics were left and what mounds, if any, were built by them.

The stone graves near Nashville and the stone graves found in the Etowah mound, also stone graves in Ohio and Illinois, have been ascribed to them; but the relics found in these different States are as different as those which belong to different nationalities, and so the archaeological record is very confused. The same uncertainty exists in reference to the Cherokees.¹ They are supposed to be the Allighewis of tradition. The story is, that the Iroquois and the Delawares migrated late in the prehistoric period from the north or from the west. They crossed a great river, and finally united in the effort to expel the Allighewis, who dwelt in fortified cities or towns and were permanently established. After long contests they drove them from their seats, and took possession of their territory. This is the record which has gone into history. It is not tradition merely, but it is history. The explorers have not been able to identify exactly the river that was crossed, nor tell where the contest occurred, or even decide where the walled towns were situated, though the supposition is that southern Ohio is the place where they dwelt. It is on this supposition that Dr. Thomas has based his theory that they

¹There were changes in the location of the Cherokees between the times of the discovery and the explorations of the Ohio Valley, but the first record of the tribe locates them among the mountains of North and South Carolina. There were also changes, according to tradition, among the Dakotas, but the date is supposed to have been before the discovery. The Ohio River seemed to have been the migration route for the Indian tribes, though it is uncertain as to the starting-point of some of the tribes, for the first that is known of the Dakotas or Sioux is that they were situated east of the Alleghanies on the Ohio River and were moving westward. The first that is known of the Iroquois they were on the St. Lawrence and were moving southward, while the Delawares and other Algonquin tribes were situated north and west of the "Great River," which may have been the Mississippi, and were moving eastward.

were the original Mound Builders; leaving out of the account the fact that other tribes, such as the Dakotas and Delawares, have traditions that they also occupied the same region. The question now before the archaeologists is one of dates, for there are different horizons showing that different tribes traversed the same region.¹ But the task is

¹ The discoveries in the interior are also illustrated by the various maps. These followed in the order of time the discoveries on the coast; and yet they overlap them, so that the same maps may be used twice. There are many collections of maps which illustrate the progress of these discoveries. One in the Library of Harvard College; another in the State Library at Albany; another in the Library of Congress at Washington; another owned by the American Geographical Society. There is also a fine collection at Cleveland, which was gathered at a great expense by Judge Charles C. Baldwin, now deceased.

The maps which illustrate the location of the Indian tribes as well as the claims set up by the different nationalities to the Mississippi Valley are quite numerous; several of them are reproduced by Winsor in his "Mississippi Valley," as follows: 1. A map of the French settlement in North America, by Thomas Kitchin, in *London Magazine* for December, 1747. This is one of the best maps of the interior, for it represents the location of the Indian tribes, Apalaches, Taensas, Tonicas, Natchez, Yasous, Tchaetas [Choctaws], Arkansas, Tchicachas [Chicasaws], Cheraquis [Cherokees], Chouanons [Shawnees], Eries, Illinois, Tamarois, Caseaquias [Kaskaskias], Mascoutins [Mascoutens], les Renere [Foxes], Miamis, Hurons, Iroquois, Outaouais [Ottawas], Abenakis, Etchemins.

2. Coxe's map of Carolana, published in 1722. The history of this map is as follows: Dr. Daniel Coxe bought the patent of Carolana, and in 1698 sent a Col. Welch to explore the country, fitted out two armed ships with a company of French Huguenots with the object of settling somewhere on the Mississippi. His son published a book in 1722 describing the country in the interior, and asserting priority of English explorations to the French. These two maps are the result.

3. Bowen & Gibson's "North America," London, 1763. This shows the country which was conquered by the Iroquois and so brought under the control of the English. This map gives the country of the Choctaws, Chicasaws, Creeks and Alibamons. The upper section shows the country of the Illinois, Mascoutins, Miamis, Twightwees. The title, "Conquered country by the Iroquois," extends from the north shore of Lake Huron to New Orleans; "which by deed of sale they surrendered to Ye Crown of Great Britain in 1701 and renewed in 1726 and 1744."

On this map we notice the following: "The Natchez are allies of the English." "The Tennessee is called the Cherakee or Hogohegee river." "Tannassee an English factory and Telliko factory" on the head-waters of the river, "Walker settlement" (1750) situated on the Cumberland River. The "Shawnoes" are on the Ohio River, and "Shawnoah an English factory" is located on the Sciota River, and an English fort and settlement, 1740, 150 miles from the Ohio River among the Pickawallanees near Piqua. The Pouteuatamis are situ-

to identify the tribes in the relics and decide upon the succession.

III. This leads us to the last point which we shall consider; namely, the archaeological results which have followed the exploration of the Mississippi Valley. It is plain that the results have been valuable for they have had the effect to correct some of the false theories, solve some of the difficult problems and secure a positive advance of the science of archaeology. We do not need to go over the problems or mention all of the theories which have prevailed, but will only say that there were many false theories as to the peopling of this continent; the theory that the lost tribes were to be found here being the most prominent and the most misleading. Another theory was that America was the seat of a very high grade of civilization, and that specimens of writing and art were likely to be found which would prove a connection between the ancient people of the Mississippi Valley and the ancient races of the East. This theory has been exploded; and yet no one has so far been able to define exactly the stage of culture which the different tribes had reached; for some will class them all with the rudest savages, making no distinction between the relics and works of the Mound Builders and those of the wild Indians, while others claim for them a grade of progress which was higher and better than that which prevailed among the Indians known to history. This fact comes out more and more as we study the testimony of the explorers.

We may say here, second, that the period which intervened between the early explorations and the early settle-

ated at the south end of Lake Michigan or Illinois. Fort Detroit is located on the St. Clair River. "Eries were extirpated by the Iroquois above a century past from which time they have been in possession of Lake Erie."

4. Mitchell's map, 1775, of The British Colonies. This shows "Walker's," and "the extent of the English settlements," 1750; "Telliquan English factory"; "Quanessee, English factory"; "Deserted Cherokee settlements" on the Tennessee River and among the mountains below the river. The traders' routes in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee are also laid down.

ments was filled with events which have few records, except those found in the traditions of the aborigines, or in the relics hidden within the mounds, or the testimony of travellers and traders. From these three sources, we hope, ultimately, to make out the history of the Mississippi Valley, but we must embrace all under the department of archæology and look to the progress of this science to clear up things which are now obscure. We search the military records to learn about the history of the forts. The treaties with the Indians and the fragmentary history of the trading-stations and factories need to be examined, for we have a long period of Indian occupation sandwiched in between the early days of the explorers and the days of the first settlers. We call this the "Indian Period," as we call the period before the discovery, the "Mound Builders' Age," or, the prehistoric period; but we include both of these under the one department of archæology.

It is unfortunate that the Protestant missionaries and the English traders have not left a better record, for it is much easier now to find the traces of military occupation than it is to find the sites of the Indian villages.¹ The visit of Jonathan Carver to the village of the Fox Indians in Wisconsin, the journey of Gen. Pike to the head-waters of the Minnesota River, and again to the peak which bears his name, the route taken by Gen. Long and his party, and by Lewis and Clark in their distant journey across the

¹The maps which may aid the archæologists in identifying the trading-posts which were established by the different nationalities, several of which are found in Mississippi Basin by Winsor, are as follows: Homann, 1720 [p. 92]. Law's Louisiana, 172 [p. 106]. Sayer and Jeffery's, — [p. 117]. The Illinois country, 1776 [p. 119]. Dr. James Smith's map, London, 1720 [p. 142]. Vaugondy's, 1750 [p. 205]. Charlevoix, 1746 [p. 215]. Thomas Kitchin's, 1747 [p. 226]. Lewis Evans, 1758 [p. 244-5], showing the trails and trading-points and portages in Ohio. Andrew's map, London, Indian Paths in Ohio, 1783 [p. 247]. Adair's map of the Indian Nations, 1775 [p. 262]. Dumont's map of the Chickasaw and Choctaw country [p. 265]. Covens et Mortier, 1758 [p. 275]. Mitchell's map, 1775 [p. 280]. Pownall, 1776 [p. 303]. Bowen & Gibson's map, 1763 [p. 328].

Rocky Mountains, have all been written about, and the localities identified. These help us to trace the history of the Indians back over the period which preceded, and identify the mounds which they noticed and made a record of. And yet, it remained for a different kind of exploration to fill up the details and make the record complete,—that kind of exploration which resulted in a description of the Indians and their villages, and especially of the mounds and earthworks.

If we go to the descriptions of Bartram, the botanist, and of Adair, the Indian agent, we shall find many customs of the Indians described; and we may suppose that they are the same which existed at the time of the Spaniards, two hundred years before. And yet, the testimony comes from these writers that the Indians known to history were not the original occupants. Such, also, is the testimony of missionaries. Rev. Elias Cornelius, who was afterwards secretary of the A. B. C. F. M., says: “When I visited the famous Etowah mound the Cherokee chiefs who attended me all declared that these were not built by their ancestors, and they know nothing about the people who built them.” Col. Charles C. Jones, who has written a very interesting book on the “Antiquities of the Southern Indians, particularly of the Georgia Tribes,” and who was familiar with a great many of the old writers, seems to think that the Indians built the earthworks; and yet he quotes the language of Bartram, who says: “I am convinced that the chunky yards now, or lately in use among the Creeks are of very ancient date.—not the *formation of the present Indians.*” Thomas Jefferson was an explorer among the mounds. He examined with considerable care a barrow on the low grounds of the Ravinna, and found that it contained not less than a thousand skeletons. He was presented with two “Indian busts,” or idols, which were unearthed on the bank of the Cumberland River near Palmyra. He says: “The lineaments are strongly marked and such as

are peculiar to the copper-colored aboriginal inhabitants of America.”

Du Pratz, in 1763, wrote the history of Louisiana, and Mr. Haywood the history of Tennessee in 1823. Both speak of the customs of the Indians, and Mr. Haywood describes some of the mounds. Du Pratz also speaks of the customs of the Natchez and describes the burial of the *stung serpent*, a description which will apply very well to the pyramid mounds situated near Natchez. Captain Romans describes a spot especially prepared and adapted for the dance.

Dr. Brickell, in 1737, speaks of the Indians of North Carolina as wearing “great bobs in their ears and necklaces of money made from shells, and a sort of gorget that hangs on their collar whereon is engraved a cross or some sort of figure which comes to their fancy.” Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft also began explorations in 1820, and continued exploring and writing for nearly thirty years. His volumes are now relied upon mainly for information as to the manners and customs of Indians, their style of dress, and articles of industry. He made a record of their picture-writings, mide songs, secret societies. His works throw light on the previous conditions of the Indians.

These writers help us to understand the customs of the Indians and to locate the different tribes at the time of the first settlements of the Mississippi Valley. They do not, however, furnish much information concerning the Mound Builders, who were the original occupants of the Valley, and whose arts and customs were different from those of the tribes which followed; as the explorers and traders soon modified these and introduced what might be called the protohistoric period.

The archaeological exploration may be said to have commenced with Caleb Atwater of Ohio. At least, he was the first to explore among the mounds and to write a book upon the subject. Various discussions, to be sure, had

been carried on before his time, and certain articles had been published by the American Philosophical Society, prepared by Mr. Sargent.

We may say that the protohistoric relics are more difficult to account for than either the prehistoric or the historic, and the Mound Builder problem is obscured by this uncertainty and the want of information concerning the Indians during this intervening period. Still there are early maps which reveal the geographical features of the interior and give the location of the Indian tribes and their central villages. The Iron Age was introduced by the white man after the times of the Discovery, but it brought confusion into the Archaeological record. These maps indicate not only a general acquaintance with the interior, but show that there were trading-posts located in that very region where the most important relics have been found. They furnish a hint as to the traffic which was carried on between the Indians and the different nationalities, but furnished no history of it. It is only when we take this as the special point of study and examine the documents and maps, and follow up the routes of the traders, that we shall be able to understand the archaeology of this middle period, the period in which this Iron Age was introduced.

There were certain impressions formed in this early period which were manifestly erroneous. It was a popular sentiment of the time that great antiquity and a high grade of civilization were to be ascribed to the Mound Builders, and that even an alphabet belonged to them. As a result various frauds were practised. Among these we shall place the tablet taken from the Grave Creek mound in 1838, the Holy Stone of Newark, the Pompey Stone of New York, and worst of all, the copper plates dug up by Joe Smith and made the foundation of the Mormon Bible. The Cincinnati tablet was discovered about this time, but has since been pronounced a genuine product of the so-called Mound Builder's age. The silver relics which

were discovered by Dr. Hildreth, and supposed to be the scabbard of a sword, have been explained in an article published by this Society, written by Prof. Frederic W. Putnam ; also in the Bulletin of the Peabody Museum.

It was during the year 1876, and in connection with the centennial at Philadelphia, that a new impetus was given to exploration among the mounds. The *American Antiquarian* was established in 1878, and began to publish the accounts of such explorations. The Bureau of Ethnology was also established, and they began their various explorations. The theory adopted by the Bureau at once was that the Mound Builders were Indians, and that there was no perceptible difference between the relics and customs of the one and of the other. The theory advocated by the editor of the *American Antiquarian* was that there was a Mound Building age which should be distinguished from the period of Indian occupation, and that the term "Mound Builders" should be retained. The position amounts to this : That the proto-historic period is different from the prehistoric, as it is marked by a different class of tokens, and by different customs ; and it is better to use the old terms which are understood, rather than new terms which need to be defined.

The explorations under the Bureau of Ethnology have, however, not been confined to the mounds and earthworks ; but different persons have been sent into the interior to study the languages and myths of the various tribes. Others have been sent to make a note of the pictographs and petroglyphs which are so numerous throughout the Mississippi Valley. Certain individuals have also been commissioned to make a thorough search for palaeolithic relics, and an examination of the gravel beds in which they were said to be found. This work of the Bureau of Ethnology has, however, been supplemented by the voluntary explorations of many private individuals, some of whom have

sent their reports to the Smithsonian to be published by them. Others have sent them to the various papers and periodicals. The Peabody Museum has also had exploring parties in the field during every year, and the Bulletins are full of brief, but comprehensive reports of the results that have followed. The various Historical Societies, Academies of Science, and Natural History Societies have had parties in the field, both as volunteers and as authorized representatives, and have published much valuable material.¹

The Society of Natural History of Cincinnati began explorations near Madisonville, and gathered many relics into the cabinet. Dr. Charles Metz continued the work under the Peabody Museum. The Western Reserve Historical Society, under the direction of Col. Charles Whittlesey, continued exploring the region along the south shore of Lake Erie. Contents of shelter caves at Elyria were gathered by Mr. C. E. Baldwin. Plans of the old forts were drawn. The Davenport Academy of Science sent out exploring parties and secured a large collection of pottery from Arkansas and Missouri which had been gathered by Mr. W. H. Pratt, and a large collection of pipes which had been gathered by their own members. The Academy of Science and the Washington University at St. Louis instituted exploring parties among the ancient villages near New Madrid, and gathered a large collection. Large collections have been gathered by various historical societies and academies; among them may be mentioned the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Academy of Science of Milwaukee; also a few colleges, among which may be mentioned Beloit College, and the University of Ohio, though the colleges are generally remiss in preserving relics and monuments in their own vicinity, and much information has been lost.²

A few individuals have, at their own expense, persevered

¹ *Archæologia Americana*, Vol. 1.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 2.

in exploring mounds and publishing reports. The writer began in 1878 exploring the effigy mounds of Wisconsin, with which he was familiar from childhood, and continued at intervals until nearly all the groups were visited and platted. An effort was made to secure appropriations from the legislature of Wisconsin, but failed. The results of these surveys were published in the magazine, and afterward gathered in book form and published in 1890,—making the second volume of the series called Prehistoric America.

Among other explorers may be mentioned Mr. W. K. Moorehead, who did a great deal of exploring at his own expense, and exhibited a valuable collection at the Cincinnati Exposition in 1890. He also published a book on Fort Ancient “compiled from a careful survey.” Mr. William McAdams explored the region between the mouth of the Illinois River and the mouth of the Missouri, and gathered a valuable collection which was sold to the State and is now in the cabinet at Springfield. He also surveyed the works at Cahokia and platted a map of them. He published a small book called “Records of Ancient Races.” Rev. J. T. MacLean explored many of the mounds of Southern Ohio under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. Col. R. S. Robertson explored the mounds of Indiana, and published an account in the Smithsonian Reports. Prof. J. T. Short also published a book on the “North Americans of Antiquity; Their Origin, Migrations and types of Civilization Considered.” The Canadian Institute at Toronto began to collect relics from Canada including those from the ancient village sites of the Hurons and Iroquois. Mr. Geo. E. Laidlaw explored the regions farther north, and sent relics to the Institute. Mr. A. F. Berlin explored the regions near Allentown. Gen. G. P. Thurston carried on some very extensive explorations near Nashville, and published a very valuable book on the Antiquities of Tennessee. Mr. T. H. Lewis explored many localities,

in Wisconsin, Missouri, Illinois, and Ohio, and gathered a very valuable collection, which is now in the keeping of McAllister College at Minneapolis.

Mr. A. E. Douglass explored the mounds in Florida, and placed his collection in the Natural History Museum, Central Park, New York. Hon. Bela Hubbard explored the garden beds in Michigan and published a report of them in the *American Antiquarian*. Prof. John Todd explored mounds in Dakota, and published an account of the effigies of the serpent in the *Naturalist*, under the title of "Bowlder Mosaics."

The Columbian Exposition, at Chicago, gave new impulse to the work of exploring the Mississippi Valley, as well as that of visiting the native tribes throughout the entire west. Parties were formed and sent into Ohio. As a result, some remarkable discoveries were made. The Hopewell Mounds, which were situated in Clarke's Works and had been previously examined, yielded the most valuable series of relics. A large amount of copper was exhumed here, and some relics which baffled the archaeologists, since they resembled the European relics so strongly. Large collections were exhibited in the Illinois Building under the charge of Mr. William McAdams. Others, from Missouri and Illinois, were exhibited under the charge of William Seler. Also pottery from Arkansas under the charge of Mr. Riggs; and the collections from Ohio and other localities under the charge of W. K. Moorehead. Mr. Harlan I. Smith, who explored mounds in Michigan, was employed in the Anthropological Building. These were subject to the examination of the gentlemen who attended the Congress of Anthropology which was held on the ground.

We close this review of the history of exploration, with congratulations to the American Antiquarian Society which began so early to encourage the scholars and scientific men in their work, and are free to say that the work which this Society has taken upon itself is destined to have a great

effect upon the three departments of science to which we have called attention. The gathering of archaeological relics has been relegated to the museums and archaeological societies, but the gathering of books and maps which throw light upon the history of exploration is still going on. The comparison of the descriptions contained in the books and the maps with the relics which are gathered into the museums will enable us to draw the picture of this Mississippi Valley as it was at the time of the discovery, and also enable us to mark the changes which occurred up to the time of the settlement by the whites. The history of this valley may be divided into three periods,—that which belonged purely to the the Aborigines; that which shows the mingling of the Aborigines with the whites; and that which treats of its complete occupation by the whites. All three periods having been embraced by the Society from the outset as its special provinces into which it was to enter.

It is fortunate that the American Antiquarian Society and the Smithsonian Institution were established at that period when settlement was rapidly increasing, and when the tribes east of the Mississippi were so rapidly disappearing; for the treatises on the languages of the Indians and the works of the Mound Builders have by this means been preserved. We must not forget that the American Philosophical Society was established, and that certain treatises were published by that Society. The geologists also were thoughtful and took pains to survey the mounds. The best work on the subject is the one which was published by the Smithsonian, as its first contribution, under the title of "The Ancient Monuments in the Mississippi Valley." This volume included the results which have been furnished by other explorers,—the eccentric Rafinesque; Mr. MeBride in Ohio and in Mississippi; Mr. James Hough in Louisiana; S. Taylor, R. C. Taylor, and R. C. Locke among the effigy mounds of Wisconsin.¹

¹The Spanish intrusion into the region occupied by the southern Mound

It is due to the American Antiquarian Society that Mr. Atwater's investigations were made, and his "Description of the Antiquities discovered in the State of Ohio and other Western States," published; and it is also owing to the coöperation of this Society with the Smithsonian that the interesting work on "The Antiquities of Wisconsin, as Surveyed and Described," by Dr. Increase A. Lapham, was undertaken and published. The same society published also the valuable work of Albert Gallatin on "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of the North America,"—a work which has proved to be the foundation of most of the linguistic studies which have followed. Mr. Gallatin's system has not been supplanted by any new theory or classification.

It is very gratifying that the Society has accumulated such a valuable collection of books, maps and original documents, all which will be so useful to students in following lines of investigation as to the three periods referred to above; especially so that the publications have not been

Builders began with Ponce de Leon in 1512, and De Allouez in 1520, and by De Soto in 1539, and continued to modify the art products for many years. The French intrusion, commenced in 1534 under Jacques Cartier, continued under Champlain, Duluth, La Salle, Nicolet, Joliet, and others in 1680; first among the Iroquois in New York and afterward among the Algonquins in Illinois. The English trade began with the Algonquins or Powhattans under Capt. John Smith, 1607 extended to Pennsylvania, 1609 to New York and Ohio, and finally formed a cordon of factories along the Indian trails and near the portages throughout the entire valley of the Ohio. English settlements and also English factories were established at an early date among the Southern tribes, such as the Chickasaws, Choctaws and Creeks, as may be seen by the study of the maps above.

The history of the Dutch trade with the Indians is not so well known. "The Algonquin stock, commencing with John Cabot, were taught in the industrial arts by French, Dutch, Swedes, and English Puritans, Quakers and loyalists, who contributed to their outfits iron arrow-heads, knives, saws, files, drills, fish-hooks, and guns, and having cajoled them out of the knack of their native arts put them into close intimacy with the blacksmith, gunsmith and the woodworker."—[From *The American Anthropologist*.

The Scandinavian trade began under the Norseman in 900 with the tribes in New England, and no doubt modified the arts of the Aborigines; thus introducing the Iron Age into America nearly 1,000 years ago.

confined to any one province or locality, but have embraced the entire continent; the history of the exploration of the Mississippi valley having been from the outset very prominent, and those who were dwelling in the great valley having frequently contributed to those publications. May we not predict for the Society on this account a future of greater usefulness and an influence which will extend to all parts of the continent, thus perpetuating the names of the early explorers and the later historians for many generations to come.

NOTE BY COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.—The maps used in connection with the foregoing article are taken from Mr. Winsor's valuable works on "The Mississippi Basin," and "From Cartier to Frontenac," by arrangement with him and his publishers, Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

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